

6.

SOME
CONSIDERATIONS

Humbly Offer'd to the
RIGHT REVEREND
THE
Ld. Bp. of *SALISBURY*.

Occasion'd by his
Lordship's *SPEECH*, upon the *First*
Article of Dr. *SACHEVERELL*'s
Impeachment.

WHEREIN
The New Doctrine of Resisting the SUPREME
POWERS, as Founded upon Political Prin-
ciples, is carefully Examin'd; and prov'd
Diametrically opposite to what his Lordship
has formerly asserted.

By a Lay Hand.

Some can Distinguish, and Divide
A Hair 'twixt *South*, and *South-West* side:
And fairly on the Point Dispute,
Confute, change Hands, and still *confute*;
Will undertake to prove by force
Of Argument, a *Man's* no *Horse*.

Hudibras.

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COPIES OF THE

REPORT OF THE

COMMISSIONERS OF THE

THE

REPUBLIC OF SALISBURY.

Occasioned by the

Lordship's SPEECH, upon the First
Session of the PARLIAMENT
1841.

W. H. R. E. I. N.

The New Doctrine of Resisting the Government
as founded upon Political Principles
is carefully examined, and proved
to be a dangerous and unchristian
doctrin.

By a Layman.

Some can distinguish, and divide
A hair's-breadth, and a hair's-breadth
And range on that, and range on that,
Cosmos, change, and still the same;
Will undertake to prove by facts
Of Argument, and of the same.

London.



Printed for J. M. P. ...
Price 6d.

S O M E
CONSIDERATIONS

Humbly offer'd to the
RIGHT REVEREND
THE
Ld. Bp. of *SALISBURY*, &c.

My LORD,

WITH all Due deference to your *Lordship*, I must own that I have as freely Examined your *Lordship's Speech*, as your *Lordship* has done the Doctrine of *Resistance*, and am glad to find it laid down as an undisputed Maxim in Religion, by your *Lordship*, "That we ought to Repent of every Sin we have committed; and that we cannot truly Repent, unless we Repair and Restore as far as it is in our Power: Now, my Lord, the Reason of my Reciting this Passage is, that I think your *Lordship* somewhat concern'd in the fulfilling of it; either in Retracting your
former

former Doctrine, or what you have now advanc'd, in your *Speech*: Being directly opposite to each other. To Convince your *Lordship* of which, I shall proceed in the following manner:

1st, I shall lay before your *Lordship* the Doctrine of Obedience, as asserted by your *Lordship* formerly.

2^{dly}, By Comparing your former Doctrine, with what you have now advanc'd, I shall leave your *Lordship* to judge whether there is not a Direct Opposition: And if so,

3^{dly}, I shall appeal to your *Lordship*, for the Retracting of either your Old or New Principles, which your *Lordship* shall think most Convenient.

In a Sermon Entituled, *Subjection for Conscience-sake Asserted*; Preach'd at Covent-Garden Church, December the 6th, 1674. from Rom. 13. 5. (*Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for Wrath, but for Conscience-sake.*) your *Lordship* hath advanc'd the following Doctrine: *Viz.*

“ That we are either bound to Obey the
 “ *Sovereign* by some Obligation the Law of
 “ *God* brings on us, or we are not; if not,
 “ then all the Sacredness of Authority is gone,
 “ and the Prince has nothing but force to
 “ maintain his Right, and every Usurper that
 “ Masters him shall have a better Right, by
 “ how

“ how much more power he has to strengthen
 “ his Ambitious Pretensions. But if we
 “ be bound by the Laws of God to Obey the
 “ Supreme Power, then these Laws had a
 “ Prior Title to our Obedience, and infer the
 “ Duties of Subjects as a particular effect of
 “ their Doctrine: Therefore these Laws having
 “ the first Right to our Obedience, must
 “ oblige us.

“ Another Method by which Conscience
 “ binds on us the sense of *Duty* and *Subjection*
 “ to those set over us, is the obligation to
 “ Pray for them, according to that Rubrick
 “ of Prayer, St. Paul gives, *I exhort therefore*
 “ *that first of all, Supplications, Prayers, Inter-*
 “ *cessions and giving of Thanks be made for all*
 “ *Men, for Kings and all that are in Authority,*
 “ *&c.* Which whosoever is a Christian must
 “ needs observe.

“ Thus it appears, That Conscience brings
 “ the sense of our Duty to the Sovereign
 “ Power nearer us, and to closer conflicts
 “ with our daily Thoughts, and forceth upon
 “ us a frequent Review of them. Nor is this
 “ a Blind and Brutish Subjection to which
 “ Conscience ties us, but it binds it on us
 “ with the fullest Evidence of Reason.

Your *Lordship* having Premis'd thus much
 declares, That you shall proceed to lay down
 those Arguments that Conscience and the Do-
 ctrines of Christianity offer for the Subjection
 we must pay the Magistrate: *Viz.*

“ I shall not meddle with those Reasons
 “ that may be drawn from the Rules of Hu-
 “ man Policy, the Nature of Societies, the
 “ Origin and Ends of Magistracy ; but shall
 “ confine my Discourse to those which Natural
 “ and Reveal’d Religion do offer for obliging
 “ us to subjection to the higher Powers.

1. And first of all, “ We are taught that
 “ these Powers are of God, that they are *the*
 “ Ordinance of God ; his *Deputies, Ministers*
 “ and *Vicegerents*, and He himself hath said,
 “ *They are Gods*, Psal. 82. 6. A strain of
 “ Speech, that, if Divine Authority did not
 “ warrant it, would pass for Impudent and
 “ Blasphemous Flattery. Tho’ then the
 “ Powers that are over us be clothed with
 “ our Natures, and are subject to like Passions
 “ and Infirmities with us, and live and die
 “ like Men, yet for all that we must look on
 “ them as Sacred and Divine by their Cha-
 “ racter.

“ *Deputed Powers* are only accountable to
 “ those from whom they derive their Autho-
 “ rity ; so the Higher Powers, being deputed
 “ by God, must indeed render to him a severe
 “ Account of their Administration, but not
 “ to others ; We are therefore *to obey them for*
 “ *the Lord’s sake, and to be subject to them for*
 “ *Conscience sake*, 1 St. Pet. 2. 13.

This last *Postulata* laid down by your Lord-
 ship is most certainly the Doctrine of the
 Church of *England*, and the very same Do-
 ctrine for which Dr. *Sacheverell* has been Im-
 peach’d ;

peach'd; indeed 'tis mighty Different from the New Doctrine of Resistance founded upon Political Principles, which your Lordship has Advanc'd in your Speech; and that your *Lordship* may be sensible of it, it will appear plainest by the following Examination:

If, as your Lordship hath declar'd (without any Exception in any Case) *the Deputed Powers are Accountable to God only, from whom they derive their Authority*, where is the *Self-defence* of the People lodg'd; and in what Case is *Resistance* lawful? Has not your *Lordship* here plainly demonstrated the utter *Illegality* of *Resistance* upon any pretence whatsoever? For, if the *Prince* be only Accountable to God, when are the *People* to sit in Judgment? And therefore as your *Lordship* rightly observes, we are bound to Obey for *Conscience-sake*, and should not suffer any Secular Interest whatever so to blind us, as to shake off the Obedience enjoyn'd in the Scripture; Tho' now your *Lordship* is pleas'd to say, *This is but a Vulgar Opinion*. Indeed *Resistance* may be very Lawful in any Case, upon those Principles laid down by that Learned and Judicious Manager Mr. L —, who plainly prov'd the Doctrine of *Resistance* to be Lawful, and that the *People* had an *Eternal Right* to it; because he had observed in the Course of his Studies, that in every Reign there were found some *Rebels*.

If Instances and Precedents, my Lord, of any People or Nation whatever, are allow'd sufficient to invalidate the Scripture Doctrines, then the *Ten Commandments* may be as lawfully broke as kept; for 'twould be an easie matter for a Man, in pleading for the Mitigation of his own Crimes, to produce innumerable instances, both Foreign and Domestick, of others that have done the like; and from thence infer, that if the Action he committed were Sinful, so were those of his Predecessors, and that He, and They, were only involv'd in the same Guilt; but what force can be put upon such Reasons as these, in weighty matters, may easily be determin'd: For my part, I can see no greater than the Common Argument of *Reprobates*, That, as they have sinn'd, so have others.

Some People think 'tis a mighty Argument to say, that *Self-Defence* is the first Law of Nature, and for that Reason ought to be put in execution; Pray, my Lord, are not all *Sins* the first Inclinations of *Nature*, and are they for that Reason to be committed? I thought the *Divine Grace* which we are advised to have Recourse, to by the Apostle, was in order to stem those Sallies of our Corrupted Natures to which we are Prone, and as it has been very judiciously observ'd by a late Eminent hand, That as we are of our selves too Subject to *do those things we ought not*, we have therefore little Reason to be put in Mind when we may Transgress.

But

But now to Resume your *Lordship's* Discourse, wherein you have further back'd this Doctrine by *Scripture Proofs*, That we are not upon any occasion whatever to Resist the *Lawful Powers* set over us. *Viz.*

“ Another Consideration which I shall propose, by which Conscience binds us to Subjection, *is the practice and example of our great Master, who was made perfect through sufferings*; Heb. 2. 10. The whole Course of his Life was a perpetual Tract of doing Good and bearing Ill; he paid the Tribute when demanded, and charg'd the *Jews, to render to Cæsar the Things that were Cæsars*: And when he was to lay down his Life for us, he submitted himself patiently, not only to the Will of his Heavenly Father, but to the *Civil Powers*: Tho' He, as the Heir of all Things, might have claim'd the Empires of the World as his Right; yet since he humbled himself so as to be Born in the low Character of a Subject, he, in that, as in all other things, became a perfect Pattern to us of all Righteousness. When the accursed Band came out against him, tho' he could have brought down Legions of Angels for his Relief, yet he not only submitted himself to them, but both rejected and reprov'd St. *Peter's* too forward Zeal, and told him, that *such as drew the Sword should Perish by the Sword*, Matt. 26. 5. and when the ill guided fervour of that Great Apostle, had mislead him to the ex-

“ cefs

cess of smiting with his Sword, our Saviour
 express'd his Displeasure at it, by his Mira-
 culous piecing the Ear again, with the
 Maimed Head. And when he was accus'd
 to *Pilate* of being an Enemy to *Caesar*, and
 pretending to set up another Kingdom, he
 did, in the plainest stile was possible, con-
 demn all practisings against Government
 upon pretence of Religion, by saying,
 John 18. 36. *My Kingdom is not of this World;*
if my Kingdom were of this World, then would
my Servants fight, that I should not be deli-
 ver'd to the *Jews*; but now is my King-
 dom not from hence: This doth so exprelly
 discharge all bustling and fighting on the pre-
 tence of Religion, that we must either set
 up for another Gospel, or utterly reject
 what is formally condemn'd by the Author
 of this we profess to believe.

But to stop a little here, my Lord, Has any
 one that ever maintain'd the Doctrine of
Passive Obedience and *Non Resistance*, run it
 farther than your Lordship in this Place? You
 have not only enforc'd the Instance of *Peter's*
Case, but likewise shewn that the whole Te-
 nour of our Saviour's Doctrine was directly
 opposite to Resistance; And at last your Lord-
 ship concludes, That whosoever will pretend
 to vindicate resisting the Supreme Powers, *must*
either set up a new Gospel, or renounce that of Jesus
Christ. Pardon, my Lord, since the Case re-
 quires it, the application of our Saviours Pa-
 rable to your Lordship, *viz. No Man can serve*
 Two

Two Masters, &c. to illustrate which, my Lord, I shall use no false Glosses, Quibbles, or Inuendo's, what I produce are your Lordship's own words, entire *Paragraphs*, without any *Addition* : So that your Lordship must either Renounce this Doctrine, or that New *Political Scheme* laid down in your Speech; for, my Lord, the Scriptures suffer no alteration whatever Kingdoms and States do, but are the same as *Yesterday, to Day, and for ever*; and since your Lordship has declar'd, that *you have examined this matter long and carefully*, pray, my Lord, let us know whether this last Doctrine is what your Lordship intends to stick to? The Clergy ought most certainly to be the Guide of the *Laitie*, and what can we think, my Lord, when we read of a Doctrine maintain'd by *Scripture* in one Reign, and the same decry'd in another, only indeed with this Difference, that as the *Scripture* was before allow'd a sufficient Witness in the Case, 'tis now laid aside as altogether useless?

To pursue your Lordship yet further in your own Words.

“ If we examine the Nature and Design
 “ of that Holy Religion our Saviour deli-
 “ ver'd, we shall find nothing more Diame-
 “ trically opposite to all its Rules, than the
 “ distemper'd Fury of those misguided Zea-
 “ lots, who being carried on by the fierceness
 “ of their ungovern'd Passions, have, upon
 “ Colours of Religion, fill'd the World with
 “ Blood and Confusion. Otherwise did St.

“ *Paul* Teach the *Romans*, when Groaning un-
 “ der the severest Rigours of Bondage and
 “ Tyranny ; and *St. Peter* doth at full length,
 “ once and again, call on all Christians to pre-
 “ pare for Sufferings, and to bear ’em Pa-
 “ tiently ; and tho’ the Bondage of the
 “ Slaves was heavy, and highly contrary to
 “ all the Freedoms of Human Nature, yet
 “ he Exhorts them to bear the Severities,
 “ (tho’ they could have Resisted) *even of their*
 “ *froward and unjust Masters*, with this Argu-
 “ ment, *That Christ suffer’d for them, leaving*
 “ *them an Example, that they should follow his*
 “ *Steps*. From these unerring Practices and
 “ Precepts must all True Christians take the
 “ Measure of their Actions, and the Rules of
 “ their Life.

“ And indeed the first Converts to Christi-
 “ anity embrac’d the Cross, and bore it not
 “ only with Patience, but Joy ; and as long
 “ as Christianity continued Pure and Unal-
 “ lay’d, this Doctrine of Patient Suffering
 “ was not only a big and empty boast, but
 “ gave Proofs of its Reality, by the unex-
 “ ampled Patience and Sufferings of the Chri-
 “ stians, in a Succession of Three Ages and
 “ Ten Persecutions. These Blessed Witnesses
 “ of our Faith were Burning and Shining
 “ Lights, as well by the Purity of their Lives,
 “ as by the Stakes and Flames of their Mar-
 “ tyrdom. *Nero* Impal’d them, and Cloath-
 “ ing them with Pitch-coats, made them burn
 “ as Torches in the Night ; but these Fires
 “ scatter’d

“ scatter'd the Darkness of that Night of
 “ Idolatry in which Rome lay Buried,
 “ and both enlightned and inflam'd many
 “ that lay freezing in Darkness. . It was the
 “ Astonishment of the World, to see such
 “ Numbers of all Ages, Sexes, and Quali-
 “ ties, with that Alacrity and Cheerfulness of
 “ Submission, to offer up their Lives for the
 “ Faith; and neither the Cruelty of their
 “ Unrelenting Persecutors, nor the Continued
 “ Tract of their Miseries, which did not end
 “ but with their Days, prevail on them ei-
 “ ther to Renounce the *Faith*, or do that
 “ which is next Degree to it, throw off the
 “ Cross, and betake themselves to Seditious
 “ Practices for their Preservation, but conti-
 “ nued stedfast both in their Faith and Pa-
 “ tience; by which they inherited the Promi-
 “ ses.

Now for what Reason, my Lord, you are
 pleas'd to deprive the Primitive Christians of
 this Character by the following Paragraph in
 your *Speech*, no one can account for but your
Lordship.

Your Lordship says in the 3d. Page, *The
 Primitive Christians had no Laws in their Fa-
 vour, but many against them: So their Patient
 Suffering so many Persecutions according to the
 Laws of the Empire, under which they liv'd, was
 to conform to the Doctrine laid down by the
 Apostles. When they came afterwards to have the
 Protection of Laws, they claim'd the Benefit of
 them, not without great Violence, when they thought*

an Infraction was made on those Laws; which broke out into great Tumults, in many of the chief Cities of the Empire, not excepting the Imperial City it self.

What becomes then of the Character your Lordship has before given them? or, why should these People be call'd the *Blessed Witnesses of our Faith*, whose Zeal was only Limited till they could procure a Force to Rebel? Where was their Conformity to the Example of their Blessed Lord and Master, in patiently suffering the Afflictions laid upon 'em, if contrary to his Command (as your Lordship affirms) they took up the Arms of Violence in a Tumultuous Manner? No, my Lord, this Character I defie your Lordship to prove, and yet at the same time I don't deny but there were those Tumults your Lordship has mention'd; permit me my Lord to have read a little *Ecclesiastical History* as well as your Lordship, tho' far be it from me ever to cast such an Aspersion upon that Blessed Army of Martyrs, whom our Church teaches us to Implore the Divine Assistance for the following their Examples as they follow'd *Christ's*, which must be *false* if your Lordship's *Affertion* be *true*. Because there were some that could not bear the Tryal of their Faith, will your Lordship therefore censure all? Certainly it must be allow'd, that in all Persecutions there were some that Waver'd. Your Lordship would infer that none of 'em would have suffer'd had they had a Power to *Resist*; Where then

is

is the Virtue if they had such Thoughts? or what Conformity was it to suffer, that, which if they had had it in their Power they would have prevented? If these are now your Lordship's Thoughts of the *Primitive Christians*, you have plainly evidenc'd that the *Human* are preferable to the *Divine* Laws; and that no *Religion* will ever have your Lordship in the List of its *Martyrs*. Never, never, my Lord, can this be atton'd for, but by an hearty sorrow, and earnest supplication to Almighty God for the Pardon of this *Affertion*.

I shall now show your Lordship, that, in pursuance of your former Character of the *Primitive Christians*, you have in express Words contradicted what is asserted in your Speech, when in continuance of what has been before recited, you thus proceed,

“ Nor was Christianity endamag'd by all
 “ that fury; on the contrary, the Blood of
 “ the Martyrs was the Seed of the Church,
 “ whose Field being thus fatned, did Spring
 “ up Thirty, Sixty, and a Hundred Fold;
 “ so that for every new Harvest of a Persecu-
 “ tion, there was a Plentiful Crop of Christi-
 “ ans. And there is no Reason to think those
 “ Blessed Martyrs, endur'd all their Suffer-
 “ ings, constrain'd by Necessity, because
 “ they could do no other; for as we find in
 “ the Inspir'd History, that at Two Sermons
 “ there were Eight Thousand Converts; so
 “ Profane, as well as Ecclesiastical Writers
 “ assure us, The Numbers of the Christians,
 “ became

“ became very soon so fast, that nothing but
 “ the Conscience of the Duty they owed the
 “ Supream Powers, oblig’d them to be Subject.
 “ Pliny, who liv’d a Hundred years after our
 “ Saviour, wrote to Trajan, lib. 10. Epist. 97.
 “ That in Pontus and Bithynia, there were great
 “ Numbers of Christians of all Ranks, both in
 “ Cities and Villages, so that the Temples of their
 “ Gods, were, by the prevailing Growth of Chri-
 “ stianity, left Desolate. A little after him,
 “ Marcus Aurelius had a Legion of Christians
 “ in his Army, of whom he gave this Cha-
 “ racter, That they carried God in their Con-
 “ sciences; and Tertullian in his Apology, ad
 “ Scap. ch. 2. pleading for those in his Days,
 “ tells the Romans, ch. 37. That if they would
 “ stand to their own Defence, they wanted not the
 “ strength of Numbers and Armies; That neither
 “ the Moors nor Parthians, nor any other of
 “ the Nations that fought with the Romans,
 “ could match them, who filled the whole World,
 “ all their Places, Towns, Islands, Castles, Villa-
 “ ges, Councils, Camps, Tribes, Senate and Mar-
 “ ket Places, only they abandon’d their Temples to
 “ them; adding, That to what War were they
 “ not both fit and ready, even tho’ they were less
 “ Numerous; Who were Butcher’d so willingly,
 “ if their Discipline did not allow them rather to
 “ be Kill’d than to Kill? And further adds, That
 “ none of them were ever found Guilty of Con-
 “ spiracies against the Emperors, whom they acknow-
 “ ledg’d to be set up by God, and therefore judg’d
 “ themselves bound to Love, Reverence, and
 “ Honour

“ *Honour them.* But as the Christian Religion
 “ continued to spread by a vast and prodigious
 “ Increase, so did the spite of the Infernal Fu-
 “ ries grow fierce against it by the same Pro-
 “ portion ; and in the last Persecution, which
 “ continued about Twenty years, we find the
 “ Martyrs in *Egypt* reckon’d to be betwixt 8
 “ and 900000; and yet no Tumults were
 “ rais’d against all this Tyranny and Injustice:
 “ And tho’ after that the Emperors turn’d
 “ Christian, and Establish’d the Faith by Law,
 “ yet neither did the subtile attempts of *Julian*
 “ the Apostate, nor the open Persecution of
 “ some *Arrian* Emperors, who did with great
 “ violence prosecute the Orthodox, occasion any
 “ seditious Combinations against Authority.
 “ These are the great Precedents this Holy
 “ Doctrine of the Cross hath in the first and
 “ purest Ages; and tho’ Religion suffer’d great
 “ decays in the succession of many Ages, yet for
 “ the first Ten Centuries no Father or Doctor of
 “ the Church, nor any Assembly of Churchmen,
 “ did ever Teach, Maintain or Justify any Re-
 “ bellious or Seditious Doctrines or Practices.

This, my Lord, I hope you will allow in
 your own Words, to be Diametrically oppo-
 site to the Doctrine advanc’d in your Speech in
 Relation to the Behaviour of the *Primitive*
Christians. But to proceed to your Lordship’s
 last Head of Enforcing the Doctrine of Non-
 Resistance, wherein you come to prove the
 Doctrine of your Text, *That we are bound to*
obey, not only for wrath, but for conscience-ake.

And thus I have made good what I undertook to evince, " That Conscience doth
 " with the greatest Evidence of Reason and
 " Authority, bind us to an absolute Sub-
 " jection to the Higher Powers. But after
 " all this, it may be perhaps objected, That
 " all Christians, at least all Pretenders to it,
 " have not follow'd the same Rule, and that
 " some Divisions of Christendom, which in
 " all other things run very wide from one
 " another, yet meet in the Doctrine of resist-
 " ing the Supreme Authority, and not only
 " so, but they vouch Religion for their War-
 " rant and Quarrel both, and pretend a Zeal
 " for God's Church and Cause in all they do;
 " but I shall handle this Matter with the
 " Round Plainness that such a Point, how
 " tender soever some may think it, requires.
 " It is true, about the end of the Eleventh
 " Century this Pestiferous Doctrine took its
 " Rise, and was first Broach'd and Vented by
 " Pope Gregory the 7th, or *Hildebrand* the first
 " Pope of that Name, tho' a far better Man
 " had basely and shamefully courted the cruel
 " and perfidious *Phocds*, and treated him in
 " a stile of mean and sordid Flattery, that
 " misbecame any Man, much more so great
 " a Bishop. But the Pope I now speak of
 " went more briskly to work, and begun
 " that insolent and bold Pretension of the
 " Temporal Power of the Popes over all
 " Kings and Princes, that they being Christ's
 " Vicars on Earth, must have all Power in
 " Heaven

“ Heaven and Earth deputed to them, and
 “ as *St. Peter's* Successors, had both the *Spiri-*
 “ *tual* and *Temporal* Swords put into their
 “ Hands. Upon this he grew mighty aspi-
 “ ring and exalted himself, nor did it end
 “ here, for those that knew his Life will see
 “ what dismal Confusions he brought on
 “ *Germany* and *Italy*, and laid the Foundations
 “ of those ensuing bloody Wars which con-
 “ tinued for some Ages: Then did the Fa-
 “ ctions of the *Guelphs* and *Gibellins* divide
 “ Nations, Towns and Families, and fill all
 “ Places with Blood and Confusion. 'Tis
 “ well known to those that are acquainted
 “ with History how these Pretensions were
 “ carried on by the succeeding Popes, and for
 “ two or three Ages this Tyranny was so
 “ heavily exercis'd, that any Insolent Church-
 “ man was able to disturb Government by
 “ complaining to *Rome* of some pretended In-
 “ croachments on the Ecclesiastical Immunity;
 “ upon which Monitory Breves and Bulls were
 “ dispatch'd, and every Prince was either to
 “ obey these, (how Prejudicial soever to his
 “ Government) or look for the Thunders of
 “ Excommunication, Deposition, or have his
 “ Subjects absolv'd from their Oaths of Fi-
 “ delity, and his Dominions transferr'd to
 “ some other more zealous Votary. These
 “ Tyrannies were not only Practis'd but
 “ Founded on the Rights of the See of *Rome*,
 “ and in the Stile of an Universal Pastor im-
 “ po'd this Belief on the World.

Your Lordship having now shown us the
 Original of that Pestiferous Doctrine of Resist-
 ing the Supreme Powers, entirely agreeable to
 Dr. Sacheverell's Account that it was first
 broach'd by the *Romanists*, your Lordship
 proceeds now in the last Place to prove the
 mischievous Consequences of this Doctrine,
 and how readily it was embraced by the Fa-
 naticks here.

“ Now the same Equality of Justice and
 “ Freedom that oblig'd me to lay open these
 “ Practices of the *Romanists*, ties me to the
 “ Discovery of those who pretend a great
 “ heat against *Rome*, and value themselves
 “ upon abhorring all their Doctrines and
 “ Practices, and yet have carried along with
 “ 'em one of their most Pestiferous Opinions,
 “ Pretending Reformation when they would
 “ bring all under Confusion; and vouching
 “ the Cause and Work of God, when they
 “ were destroying and opposing that Autho-
 “ rity he had set up: And the more Piety
 “ and Devotion such Daring Pretenders put
 “ on, it still brings the greater Stain and Im-
 “ putation on Religion, as if it Patroniz'd
 “ those Practises it so plainly Condemns. This
 “ is *Judas* like, to Kiss our Master when we
 “ betray him, and to own a Zeal for Religion
 “ when we engage in Courses that Disgrace
 “ and Destroy it.

Is this last Paragraph, my Lord, any more
 than drawing the Character of such False Bre-
 thren as Dr. *Sacheverel* Describes in his Sermon?

'Tis

'Tis as exact, as if he had Consulted your Discourse; and I can't but believe your Lordship's Sermon was before him when he was Composing his own. But to proceed to your Lordship's Conclusion,

“ Blessed be God, our Church Hates and
 “ Condemns this Doctrine from what hand
 “ soever it come, and hath Establish'd the
 “ Rights and Authority of Princes on sure
 “ and unalterable Foundations, enjoyning an
 “ entire Obedience and an absolute Submission
 “ to that Supreme Power God hath put in
 “ our Sovereign's Hands. This Doctrine we
 “ justly Glory in, and if any that had their
 “ Baptism and Education in our Church have
 “ turn'd Renegado's from this, they proved
 “ no less Enemies to the Church her self, than
 “ to the Civil Authority.

Such was your Lordship's Opinion in the Year 1674, and I shall now in an Exact Examination of your Lordship's Speech, plainly demonstrate the new Scheme therein laid down to be Diametrically opposite to this Doctrine, and leave your Lordship and the whole World to be Judges in this Case.

My Lord, Before I enter upon your Speech, I think it not amiss to assure you that I am a hearty well wisher to the *Revolution*, and without any more a-do shall always pronounce those that are not, to be the Worst Enemies to Her Majesty and her Government; but on the other hand, my Lord, I think 'tis running the point too far, to tell Her Majesty

that *She has taken up the Banner of Resistance*, and enjoys the *Throne* upon the Principles of *Rebellion*, as if she had no other Right; certainly, My Lord, Her Most Gracious Majesty has all that Divine Right your Lordship has been so long contending for in your Sermon, and wears the Crown by the Hereditary Title of her Ancestors: Which that she may long, long enjoy in a Prosperous Tranquility, is my sincere Wish.

Farther, my Lord, when our Religion, Laws and Liberties were invaded, the Inviting of the Prince of *Orange* hither, was then told us as design'd to Redress our Grievances, which had the happy Effect propos'd; but at the same time when this matter was Debated it was not Voted a Rebellion, but a *Vacating* or *Abdicating* the Throne by King *James*; and to perswade the People that it was so, Records were search'd, and History quoted to prove the Lawfulness of our supplying a Vacant Throne, but not for the Vindicating of Resistance; and that for asserting King *William* a Conqueror, your Lordship's Writings underwent the *Fiery Fate*. Therefore what Reason we have to say at this Time of Day that we Turn'd him away, Resisted him, and prov'd Rebels, I can't account for, I am much more inclin'd to believe it as it was then *Debated*, and allow'd to be, a *Vacating* of the Throne, and 'tis upon these Principles, my Lord, that we may still avow the utter Illegality of Resisting the Supreme Powers.

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In the first Place, my Lord, I cannot agree with your Lordship, that the Doctor's Council yielded to the Lawfulness of *Resistance*; indeed Sir *Simon Harcourt* once put it, that upon supposition in Cases of Imminent Danger Resistance might be allow'd, tho' the Prisoner had asserted the utter Illegality of it upon any pretence whatsoever, and that he presum'd the Prisoner was no more Culpable for such an Assertion, than those many other Divines who had maintain'd the said Doctrine, and Receiv'd the Thanks of both Houses of Parliament for the same: This, my Lord, was so far from yielding to the Doctrine of Resistance, that the Supposition was only brought to enforce the Argument of his Plea in the Prisoner's behalf.

Your Lordship proceeds next to give an Account of the Doctrine of our Church concerning Resistance or Self-defence, where after having given us a Sketch of the same History as Recited in your Sermon, in shewing, that Doctrine had its Original from the Papal See; but when the Reformation came to some maturity, this Doctrine was every where oppos'd, and the *Divine Right of Princes having their Power from God* asserted in the Room of it; but then your Lordship says, the Reformers did not mean that Kings had any *Distinct Authority besides the Law of the Land*. This, my Lord, to me is an Irreconcilable Contradiction in it self, as well as to what has been advanc'd by your Lordship in your Sermon, where you say,

that ye are either bound to obey the Sovereign by some obligation the Law of God brings on us, or not; if not, then all the Sacredness of Authority is gone, and the Prince has nothing but Force to maintain his Right, and every Usurper that Masters him shall have a better Right, by how much more Power he has to strengthen his Ambitious Pretensions: So that this must be the Case if the Reformers meant as your Lordship would have 'em, and instead of being such an opposite Doctrine to that of Rome, as your Lordship represents it to be, I can see no more in it than that 'tis out of the Frying-pan into the Fire. 'Tis the Power and Prerogative, my Lord, that I contend for: If Princes must be accountable to any Earthly Power, I think there's little odds in it whether it be to a *Romish* or a *Calvinistical* Power; for tho' by the Tenets of the Church of Rome 'tis maintain'd, That all Princes derive their Authority from the Pontifical Chair as being Christ's Vicars here on Earth, yet I would oppose this, even to the Face of a Pope himself, and plainly show him, that the Scripture does not only mean *Kings*, but all *Supreme Powers*, set over any People according to the Constitution of their Country, are accountable only to God, from whom they derive their Authority.

Having already Accounted for what your Lordship says of the behaviour of the Primitive Christians, I come now to examin that Instance your Lordship brings of the *Jews* shaking of the *Syrian* Yoke: My Lord, *Josephus*

phus has fully satisfied me that the *Syrians* were not the Lawful Governours of the *Jews*, and for that Reason, the Resistance was no more than opposing a Foreign Enemy, tho' your Lordship says, *It were easie to shew that the Jews had been first subject to the Babylonian, then to the Persian, and Grecian Empire; and at last to the Kings of Syria: 'Twere as easie to shew, my Lord, that some of the Kings of France have been Subject to our Kings of England: But that Man would have had a very difficult Task, that should have endeavour'd to convince a French-man that the King of England was his Lawful Sovereign. Conquest, my Lord, mightily alters the Case; and the Jews shaking off the Syrian Yoke is widely different from Resisting their Lawful Governours. But I can't see why your Lordship should be in so great a Passion with the Apocryphal Writings as to have 'em tore out of our Bibles, tho' there's no mighty matter to be learnt indeed, in being inform'd that when Tobit went out his Dog follow'd him, and when he slept under the wall the Birds muted in his Eyes; yet for all that, the Books of Ecclesiasticus are fit to be Read for Example, and the Story of Susannah is very Instructive.*

The next step your Lordship makes is to Consider the *Homilies*, in the second Book of which are those against *Wilful Rebellion*, said to be compos'd by Bishop *Jewell*, whom your Lordship grants, *was by much the best Writer in that Time, and understood the meaning of them well,*

well, otherwise that good Bishop could never merit such a Character from your Lordship; for he must be but a very Indifferent Author that does not understand the meaning of what he Writes: But to prove that Bishop Jewell was for *Resistance*, your Lordship cites these Words from his *Apology*, &c. *viz. The Nobles of Scotland neither drew the Sword, nor attempted War against the Prince: They sought only the Continuance of God's undoubted Truths, and the Defence of their own Lives against Barbarous and Cruel Invasions.* The former part of this Sentence, my Lord, I take to be express for the Doctrine of Obedience; and as for the *Preservation of their Religion and Lives*, 'twas so far from unlawful Resistance, that 'tis directly enjoyn'd in the Gospel: *If they persecute you in one City, flee to another, &c.* Your Lordship further adds, *That this Passage shows that he looked on Rebellion to be a Violent Rising against a Prince.* Who, my Lord, can give it any other Definition? Such no doubt were those against King *Henry the 8th*, King *Edward* and Queen *Elizabeth*. Your Lordship next proceeds to Examine the Passages cited by the Prisoner out of the *Homilies*, but how far they did, or did not make for his Purpose, I shall not enquire; yet cannot conclude this Paragraph without taking notice of your Lordship's Observation *By the By*, That the Word *Wilful*, in the Title of the Prayers against *Rebellion*, was not put in for *Nothing*, in which I am clearly of your Lordship's mind; for

for I take it to be a very significant *English* Word of two Syllables, for which Reason it was incerted by the *Bisbop* the more fully to Express his own Meaning, which your Lordship has before acknowledg'd he perfectly Understood.

I now come, to attend your Lordship thro' Queen *Elizabeth's* Long and Glorious Reign, to see what was the constant Maxim of that Time.

I shall begin with your Lordship's first Instance in Relation to the Difference, between the Queen Regent and the Nobles of *Scotland*, but 'tis observable that your Lordship makes no allowances in Point of *Political Interests*, and makes the Allegiance of a Subject to his Prince, and that of one Crown'd Head to another, the same: Tho' the Queen Regent broke her Promise, the Nobles ought not to have Rebell'd; but on the other hand, 'twas as Lawful, according to the *Jus Gentium*, for Queen *Elizabeth* to assist the Nobles, as it was for the *French King* to Defend the Queen Regent; and I am very well satisfied that Queen *Elizabeth* might with great satisfaction Reflect upon that Interposition, without putting your Lordship to the trouble of producing the *Manifesto* you mention.

As to the often repeated Quarrels in *France* from *Charles* the 9th, to *Henry* the 4th's Time, which were a continual series of Rebellion, and tho' Queen *Elizabeth* in all that Time assisted them with Men and Money, she was
not

not at all concern'd in those Rebellions, not being any ways subject to the Crown of *France*; but as we have an old Proverb, *That none are so blind as them which won't see*, so your Lordship is sensible there is a great deal of difference between the Allegiance of a Subject to his Prince, and that of one Crown'd Head to another.

To pass over your Lordship's next piece of History, relating to the *Netherlanders* shaking off the *Spanish* Yoke, which your Lordship owns *became intollerably Severe and Cruel to 'em*; and without putting your Lordship to the Trouble of producing your *Old Manifesto* which you are so fond of mentioning, I believe any one will allow that *Queen Elizabeth's* Reasons were sufficient to Justifie her assisting them in this Case.

Not to Disturb your Lordship's Instructive Relation of King *James's* Affairs, in which, according to your Lordship's usual good Fortune, of seeing deeper into the *Arcana's* of State than any one else, I desire to be Inform'd what Authority pass'd this Determination, *That when a Usurper is once possess'd of a Crown, he shall be own'd a Lawful Sovereign*: This is carrying the matter much farther than *Oliver Cromwell* did, for he often acknowledg'd the *King's* Authority so far, as to Drink a Health to his Landlord.

Your Lordship next comes to shew *what the sense of our best Divines was in this matter*; to illustrate which, Dr. *Bedell* is mention'd as
 308 the

the Top Man, (but by, the by, my Lord, I suppose 'tis because your Lordship wrote his Life) and your Lordship proceeds to Read some of his Words on this Subject, *Viz. Do you think Subjects are bound to give their Throats to be cut by their Prince at his mere will?* This Position, I believe, will hardly be incerted in any one's Creed; but on the other hand, when this famous Doctor, has by the old Threadbare Argument of the Law of Nature, urg'd all manner of unlawful Rebellions, Do you think, my Lord, (to Reverse the Doctor's strong Position) that Subjects may cut their Princes *Throats*, and Justifie it, by the Law of Nature?

As to *Grotius's* Book, *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, there needs not any thing to be said, by Reason most Men that are acquainted with it are sensible how far his Principles would carry him, in asserting Regal Power; and as to King *Charles's* assisting the *French* Protestants, 'tis only another Instance of the same sort, of what your Lordship has before related, and in which all agree, that according to the *Jus Gentium*, and Compacts agreed to by Treaties of Peace, &c. It is very Lawful for Different States to assist each other; for your Lordship has own'd, that the Grounds, upon which Queen *Elizabeth* aided the *Netherlanders* was, *That there had been an Ancient League, not only between the Crown of England and the Princes of the Netherlands, but between the Subjects of both Countries, under their Seals Interchangeably for*
all

all Friendly Offices. Which no doubt was a sufficient Reason, and as your Lordship observes, would be equally as strong were it Revers'd on any other side whatever: But all these Instances are no proofs at all of the Lawfulness of Domestick Resistance; by any Peoples taking up Arms against their Lawful Prince; so far I agree with your Lordship, that you prov'd beyond Contradiction that you have Read some of the *Histories of those Times*, but that's all: And the Doctrine of the Church most certainly remains as before.

Dr. *Manwaring's* Case is strangely Represented by your Lordship, as tho' he was Impeach'd for barely asserting the Authority of the Prince, and the Allegiance of the Subject; when on the other hand your Lordship very well knows that the Articles of his Impeachment ran, *for having aspers'd the Ministry, using unbecoming Expressions, and for Denouncing Damnation upon the People if they did not yield to the Ship-Money and the other Illegalities complain'd off in those Times.*

Your Lordship being now come to the Time of the Civil Wars observes in the first Place, *That the lately Condemned Doctrine of Passive Obedience came again in Vogue*, out of which your Lordship would have it, sprung all the Miseries of those Days: No, my Lord, 'twas from another Fountain these Misfortunes arose, from a Factious, Rebellious and Headstrong People, who by a Total Degeneracy
from

from the Church and all Regular Discipline, had Divided themselves into so many different Denominations, each claiming to themselves a separate Power, that soon brought all Things into Anarchy and Confusion, and then aided by the false Scots, who were never sincerely true to any Prince of their own, or obedient to any Regular Discipline either in Church or State, as the Learned Bp. Spotswood has plainly prov'd.

Your Lordship's second observation is, That this War was not founded on the Principle of Self-Defence, tho' all the Writers of that Time against the King, urged no other Argument in their behalf; which may easily be seen by having Recourse to *Milton, Harrington, Goodwin*, or any others; and tho' your Lordship might have the opportunity of Consulting some private Papers, I can hardly believe your Lordship saw deeper than all Mankind, which you would really perswade us you did.

In the Third place your Lordship owns this a *Rebellion*, which I cannot see how your Lordship will easily Reconcile, to what you have before advanc'd, for all the Instances cited by your Lordship have been to endeavour to prove that *Resistance* is no *Rebellion*, and here your Lordship Grants the *Affirmative*; and it cannot be denied but that this Faction complain'd of all those hardships which your Lordship before allow'd would make *Resistance* or *Rebellion* (which is all one) Lawful.

As

As to the other Passages mention'd by your Lordship, I shall pass over as not being any way Material to the Question in Debate, and I presume only incerted to make your Lordship's Speech appear the more *Historical*.

In the next Place your Lordship makes it no wonder, " That the Doctrine of *Non-Resistance* should be Preach'd after such a War, and that this matter was kept in View both by Dr *Falkener* and your Lordship, who soon found the ill effects, that the carrying this Doctrine so far, had on the Mind of King *James*; for the proof of which your Lordship tells us, " That in the Year 1673. when you were admitted into a free Conversation with King *James*, your Lordship was pleas'd to tell him, That upon Account of his Religion it was impossible for him to Reign quietly in this Nation. Upon which the King replied, Does not the Church of *England* maintain the Doctrine of *Non-Resistance* and *Passive Obedience*? Upon which your Lordship advis'd him not to Depend, for that there was a *Distinction* in the matter, that would be found out when Men thought they needed it.

After such a free Conference with King *James* (which has always been a peculiar happiness to your Lordship, not only to be admitted into the utmost familiarity, and let into the Greatest *Arcana's* of State, but even to become the Fortune-teller of Princes) and such a due sense of the Mischievous Consequences

quences that would attend the Preaching up the Doctrine of *Non-Resistance*, &c. How came your Lordship in the Year 1674. to preach up this Doctrine in terms of the Greatest force, and without any exception of that Distinction which your Lordship has mention'd, would be made use of when there was occasion; but of this piece of Policy your Lordship does not think fit to give any Account, tho' I don't question but your Lordship had some potent Reasons for this Performance, and that it was to serve some great End which will be known one time or other.

Having gone through all those parts of your Lordship's Speech that relate to the Doctrine of Resistance, I come now with your Lordship to Examine some particulars relating to the *Revolution*; the first thing, my Lord, you are pleas'd to take notice of is the Pompous *Oxford Decree* as you stile it, in the Year 1683. which your Lordship would have us observe how long they stood to, and in proceeding to give an Account of the very great share you had in that Important turn of Affairs, hardly admitting any one else a part, nothing being transacted without your Lordship's Advice and Direction, and that your Lordship stood to your Ground, (forgetting the Year 1674. and what your Lordship was now speaking of) during this Intercourse of Affairs your Lordship reckons the *Oxford Men* broke in upon their Decree, by inviting the Prince to their University, and that the Law-
C fulness

fulness of an Usurper's Title came presently in Vogue among them, your Lordship interpreting the meaning of a *De facto* Prince to be no other.

As to the former part of this Assertion, my Lord, they might give the Prince an Invitation, and yet not in the least break in upon their *Decree*, which was only a Condemnation of all *Heterodox*, and *Republican Principles*, that did not in the least interfere with the Turn then in agitation, for no doubt they believ'd it an *Abdication*, and not a *Rebellion*; and as to your Lordship's last Observation, I can hardly be perswaded to think that such an Opinion could ever be in *vogue* among 'em for sound Doctrine.

Your Lordship's behaviour as to the Abjuration Oath is no doubt highly to be commended, as likewise in taking Notice of those Seditious Pamphlets and publick Papers which I agree with your Lordship, "tend to carry on the wicked Design of Distracting the Church and Undermining the Government; and as the *Rehearsal* has been very prudently suppress'd, so will I hope those other Insolent and Factious Scriblers, the *Review* and *Observer*; the former of which, my Lord, no other Punishment but *Haman's* will prevail upon, a Pillory and Fine is of no effect, he still continues more Impudent than ever, giving Instructions to both Houses of Parliament, and at once claims the entire Protection of all *Scotland*, when I dare believe not one

Noble-

Nobleman of that Nation will give him the least Countenance.

Your Lordship next observes, That while these Pamphlets and ill Reports were thus set about, "Mr. *Hoadly* thought that it became him to assert the Queen's Title, by Justifying the *Revolution*, out of which it arises; I shall not in the least touch upon Mr. *Hoadly's* Controversy, but admire your Lordship should assert that her Majesty's Title arises out of the *Revolution*; certainly, my Lord, you will own that the Rise of Her Majesty's Title must be from the Hereditary Right of her Ancestors, and the most that can be said of the *Revolution* is, that it strengthens that Title; and it shall be my hearty Prayers, That "Almighty God will be pleased to "strengthen Her Arms, that She may Vanquish and Overcome all her Enemies, both "at Home and Abroad, and long continue "in a Profound and Lasting Peace, a Nursing "Mother to this Church and Kingdom.

Lastly, Your Lordship apprehends ill Consequences from some Clergy-men's preaching Hot Sermons, as your Lordship terms 'em; indeed, my Lord, Heat without Judgment is not commendable, nor will any one pretend to Vindicate *Reflecting* and *Unguarded* Expressions; but a Man's Zeal sometimes may carry him a little further than his first Thoughts, when he hears in publick Coffee-Houses the Clergy villanously Traduced, the Ministry Reflected upon, and the Fanaticks

boldly give out that the Cause is their own: Indeed if there are any such Clergy-men as your Lordship describes, whose *Swearing* and *Praying* is contrary to their *Practice*, I hope the Numbers are but few, and that your Lordship, and the rest of our Right Reverend Prelates will make a strict Enquiry after such Men in your respective Diocese's, and by your Advice and Example decrease the Number.

I have now gone through all I at first intended, and assure your Lordship that what I have done is neither upon Account of the Person which occasion'd your Lordship's Speech, or in the least to create any Controversy, but as Mr. *Hoadly* has observ'd, "Men of your
" Lordship's distinguishing Character bear a
" great sway in the World, and the Stamp of
" your Authority makes the Populace readily
" believe whatever comes from such Pens;
and to find your Lordship such a strenuous Defender in your former Writings of that *Doctrine* which you oppose in your Speech, created in me no small admiration; and whether your Lordship will be pleas'd to give any Reasons for such an alteration of your Opinion, I wholly submit to your Lordship's Judgment, and do assure your Lordship, that my belief of the *Doctrine* you formerly asserted was the only Reason of my Addressing to your Lordship in this Manner; in which Opinion I shall ever Remain, believing with a most Reverend Prelate of our Church,
That

That so long as the 13th Chapter of the Romans will be allow'd a part of the Canonitall Scripture, so long shall I esteem Obedience to the Supreme Powers a Doctrine of the Gospel, and the Inseparable Duty of every Christian.

I shall now conclude all in your Lordship's own Words, most earnestly desiring, " That
 " we may Adorn our Holy Profession with
 " Lives suitable to it, and that we may show
 " to the World we Take not up, or Main-
 " tain our Religion upon Interest, but found
 " it on sure and unmoveable Foundations,
 " which being the same always, will ever
 " oblige us to the same Duties and Practices.
 " Let us study to empty our selves of all
 " big self-conceiting Thoughts, of all hot
 " and inflam'd Passions and Appetites, of all
 " unruly and unbounded Desires, of all levity
 " and unstay'dness of Mind; that with
 " humble Hearts, calm Minds, contented
 " Spirits, and steady Thoughts, every one
 " may follow the Duties of his Station, and
 " behave himself therein as becomes a Chri-
 " stian, paying inwardly in our very Thoughts
 " that Reverence we owe the *Higher Powers*,
 " and offering up to God the Constant Tri-
 " bute of our Prayers for them; considering
 " they are God's Vice-gerents, and by his
 " own Warrant are called Gods; and if (at
 " any time) the Conduct of Affairs do not
 " suit our Wishes or Desires, yet for all that
 " we are to trust to and depend on God's
 " Providence, not daring once to think of at-
 " tempting

“ tempting against the Lord’s Anointed, nor
 “ to engage in Courses that may bring us so
 “ much Mischief and Confusion, but let us
 “ ever set before our Eyes the Example of our
 “ Blessed Saviour, *who endur’d the Cross and*
 “ *despis’d the Shame; who when he was revil’d,*
 “ *revil’d not again, and when he suffer’d he*
 “ *Threatned not,* but committed himself to
 “ him that Judgeth Righteously: And let us
 “ also Consider that Cloud of Witnesses that
 “ followed him; *that so we may run with*
 “ *Patience the Race that is set before us,* and
 “ not look to, or Imitate the later Practices
 “ of some Distemper’d and Degenerated Chri-
 “ stians. Then we shall be an Honour to
 “ our Profession, and give a Credit to that
 “ Church wherein we were Born, Baptiz’d
 “ and Instructed; when we shew that we are
 “ *Subject, not only for Wrath, but for Conscience*
 “ *sake.*

I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship’s most

Obedient Servant.

FINIS.

